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as the night the day, thou can'st not then be fulse to any man."

BY ROB'T. A. THOMPSON & CO.

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### POETRY.

# The Heart.

Oh! could we read the human heart. Its strange, mysterious depths explore, What tongue could tell or pen impart, The riches of its hidden lore?

Safe from the world's distrustful eye, What deep and burning feelings play, Which e'eu storn reason's power defy, And wear the sands of life away.

Think not beneath a smiling brow, To always find a joyous heart, For wit's bright glow, and reason's flow, Too often hide a cankering dart.

The bird with bruised and broken wing, Oft tries to mount the air again, Among its mates to gladly sing. Its last melodious dying strain.

The fire that lights a flashing eye, May by a burning heart be fed, Which in its anguish yearns to die, While yet it seems to pleasure wed.

Oh, do not harshly judge the heart, Though cold and vain it seems to be Nor rudely seek the vgil to part, That hides its deep, deep mystery!

# POLITICAL.

From the Columbia Phoenix.

LETTER FROM GEN. HAMPTON.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the letter in which you do me the honor to ask "my advice with regard to your action in the very important uniters soon to be submitted to the people of the State."-Though I cannot but feel that many of those whose names are signed to this communication are far more competent to offer counsel on the grave topics now agitating the public mind than myself, as I deem it to be the duty of every man, when called on by his fellow-citizens, in times of peril, to contribute all in his power to promote the general welfare, or to ward off the common danger, I willingly comply with your flattering request.

Recognizing, then, the duty imposed on me y your out, and impelled, also by the great respect I feel for those who have thus hououred me, I shall state with perfect candour the imminent dangers surrounding us, and point out with equal frankness the only course which, in my judgment, we can pursue with honour, or with any hope of ultimate safety. Before proceeding to t e discussion of the present condition of affairs, it is proper to let you know what were the views entertained by myself immediately after the cossation of active hostilities, and what was the course I thought our people should then follow. This cannot be done more concisely than by giving to you a copy of a letter addressed to James G. Gibbes, Esq., chairman of a public meeting, which was held here in August, 1865— Not being in the city at that time, I wrote the following letter, which, yielding to the views of others, I afterwards determined not to publish:

August 20, 1865. To His Honor James G. Gibbes, Mayor of

Columbia:
Sin: Having been absent when the late public meeting was held in the city, I take this method of expressing my views on the subjects discussed on that occasion. It is with some reluctance that I express these views, as I do not concar in the policy advoca ted by the meeting. Is it desirable that the people of the State should take any action looking to a restoration of civil government at prescut? I think not; and for these rea-

The State is either a member of the Federal Union, or it is not. If a member, then met only is it a work of supercrogation for her to ask admission to the Union, but she is, by the Constitution of the United States, guaranteed a republican form of government, and she has the right to administer her government under such a constitution and by such laws as she chooses. But if she, on the contrary, is not a member of the Union, she must he regarded either as a territory, or as conquered province. In either condition, the United States' authorities are charged with the duty of providing a proper government for her, and I think the true policy of the State is to remain passive until such government is given to her, or is forced upon her. If the course indicated by the meeting here is followed by the State, what will be the re sult? Will it lead to the restoration of the Union as it existed, and to the re-establishment of the constitution and laws of this this State? I do not think that such will be the ease. To restore the State to the Union by the plan contemplated in the resolutions adopted by the meeting here, it will be necessary to call a convention of the State.— That a convention, chosen as that will be, will represent the wishes of the people of the State, is an impossibility. But passing over this grave objection, there remains the still graver one as to the adoption of a constitution. Are the people of the State willing, by the adoption of a new and totally different constitution, to ignore all the teachings of the past, to subvert the whole order of society, to change, in a moment, its whole organization, and in a word, to commit (if the expression may be used) political suicide? Yet this is the inevitable tondency of the course recommended by the meeting. No one, for a moment, supposes that the State will be admitted into the With all their "dignity, equality and rights of the North, by subordinating the interests of the North, by subordinating the interests of the people of South while they did so, every plage which they and made and rights of the war.

The states the form to a military to a military to a military to a military to the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the said on the said of the s change, in a moment, its whole organization,

may be urged that the State must come with such a constitution, or not come at all. If such is the fact, then let her not come at all. The United States Government will hold the country, as it now does, by military occupation; its troops will be present to inaugurate and enforce the new system of labor decreed by the President of the United States, and the people, though conquered, will not have the additional humilliation and reproach which they would bring upon themselves, if they consent to destroy their own constitution which was bequeathed to them by their fath-

Besides these various reasons against the policy advocated by the meeting, it appears to me that it is premature for the people to move at present. The authorities at Washington have not indicated the course they propose to pursue towards the State, nor have they manifested great zeal in the restoration of that Union for which they have professedly been fighting for the last four years. They have not asked the State to return to the Union, nor have they announced the terms upon which it can do so. When they have done these things, it will be time enough for the State to take counsel how to act.

I re ommend, then, with all deference to yourself and the gentlement over whom you presided the other day, that the people should remain perfectly quiet, taking no action what-ever in public affairs. Leave all these matters to the United States Government, which will, doubtless, in good time, provide a government for you. Until that is done, the cartridge box can take the place of the ballotbox, and the bayonet is a good substitute for the law. It is better to be governed by these than to give to your State a constitution which misrepresents the wishes of the people, humiliates their pride, debauches their society, destroys their prosperity and degrades their

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your friend and fellow-citizen:

WADE HAMPTON.

It was clear to my mind that the true poli ey of the South was to remain passive, ob serving, with the most scrupulous fidelity, the obligations we assumed when we laid down our arms, and making no concessions beyond those embraced in the terms upon which we surrendered. I held that the United States Government had not only offered terms to the South, but that its faith was pledged to the observance of those terms. Every official act of every department of that government, during the war, declared that the Southern States were still members of the Union, and Congress, by an almost unanimous vote, in the nost solemn manner

" Resolved, That this war was not waged, on our part, in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but defend and maintain the supremaey of the constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired. That as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."

The same body gave the strongest evidence that they regarded the Union unbroken, even during the war, by their recognition of Mr. Carlisle as Senator from Virginia-I mean the noble "Old Dominion," and not her ille-gitimate and degenerate child, West Virginia -and allowing him to retain his seat until near the close of the war. The very paroles given to the Southern soldiers promised the protection of the United States Government to those holding them, so long as they obeyed the laws of "the States wherein they resi ded;" thus recognizing, not only the Southorn States as States, but the laws of these States. We had every reason, as far as we could trust to the faith of our opponents, to believe that the Southern States would be received into the Union with all their "dignity, equality and rights unimpaired," as soon as they renewed their allegiance to the general

government, and acknowledged its supremacy.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this communication to discuss what faith has been kept with the South-mankind has already affixed to that sort of faith the name of Punie; I only touch on these points to show the mistakes committed by the South, when it conformed to those demands of the North which were interpolated into the conditions, after our surrender. Our State Conventions were mistakes; so were the changes of our constitutions; greater than all others was the egislation ratifying the amendment of the United States Constitution known as Article 14. I am well aware that the action of the Southern people, at that time, was dictated by an honest desire to secure the blessings of peace, and by a high sense of honor, which prompted them to show that they were sincere in their wish to do everything that would tend to the restoration of the Union on honorable terms I have no hesitation in asserting that the Southern States would then have been brought back to the Union with more of "loyalty "-to ese a favorite expression of the North-than had existed amongst them for forty years past, and the North proved itself to be as magnanimous as it had shown itself to be powerful. But it was the misfortune, not only of the South, but of the whole cour try, that the party which had obtained posses nion of the government was more intent on securing its own power than of restoring the

The war, which was professedly waged sorely for the restoration of the Union, in its prog ress, degenerated into an open attempt, on the part of its authors, to consolidate and perpetuate Radical rule, and a government, which was founded on the noble maxim that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," has been perverted to the base ends of subjecting ten millions of its people to a military despotism.

That I may not be accused of stating this proposition in stronger language than is warranted by the facts of the case, I beg to call our attention to the following extract of an article which emanated from Mussachusetts. Bearing the imprimatur of Boston, its language, which, had it been uttered here, might have smacked of treason, can be regarded only

"The principle," says this writer, "on which the war was waged by the North, was simply this: That men may rightfully be compelled to submit to and support a government that they do not want; and that resistance on their part makes them traitors and oriminals. No principle that is possible to be named can be more self-evidently false than this, or more self-evidently fatal to all political freedom .-Yet it triumphed in the field, and it is now ssumed to be established. If it be really established, the number of slaves, instead of having been diminished by the war, has been greatly increased; for a man thus subjected to a government that he does not want, is a slave; and there is no difference in principle, but only in degree, between political and chat tel slavery. The former, no less than the latter, denies a man's ownership of himself and the products of his labor, and asserts that other men may own him and dispose of him and his property for their uses and at their pleas-Previous to the war, there were some grounds for saying that in theory, at least, if not in practice, our government was a free one -that it rested on consent. But nothing of that kind can be said now, if the principle on which the war was carried on by the North is irrevocably established."

Here we are told in emphatic language, by Northern man, whose mind cannot be obscured certainly by the so called heresics of Southern doctrines, what was the principle on which the war was waged by the North, and we are warned-God grant that the warning may not be in vain-what will be the result if this principle is irrevocably established .-Let it be established, and we may bid adien to constitutional liberty—republican institutions will be swept away in the storm that will arise, and we shall enter on those dark and gloomy seenes which will always precede a nation's death. The time will then indeed have come for us to pray, in the words of a fearless and eloquent son of Georgia, for the speedy advent of "the American Cresar." The whole recent legislation of the fractional Congress at Washington seems to have only in view to break down all the barriers of the Constitution of the United States; to ignore the immortal truths of the great rebellion of 76, and to conver, a government, which had, as its only foundation, "the consent of the gov-None of the Radicals pretend that the military bills are constitutional. They admitperhaps I should say, rather, they trust-that these measures are unconstitutional, while

ideavor to make the South ratify them, by arousing and appealing to the basest passions of human nature, fear and cupidity. They threaten us with confiscation, on the one hand, if we do not accept these measures they give them the semblance of law, while on the other they attempt to bribe those amongst us who are so base and venal as to be willing to purchase immunity for themselves by selling the liberties of their country.

Are these despicable motives strong enough o corrupt the virtue of the Southern people? Will that people, who have proved themselves capable of making any and all sacrifices for the sake of their principles, sink so low as to buy the more privilege to live-even if they live slaves - by giving up all that they have heretofore held sacred, and all that makes life tself worth having? Will they allow their action to be influenced by threats? Threats can never govern brave men. Arethey afraid of confiscation by Congress? If they adopt these Reconstruction acts, they will most as suredly suffer confisention in its worst and most tyrannical form, through the " reconstructed" States. It is for them to determine these momentous questions for themselves. They have already carried concession to the verge of folly. Hear what another Northern writer

says on this point : "The programme of the ruling party can not be altered or changed by concession. That has been tried in the South. All the demands of Congress have been complied with by the States lately in revolt. They have altered their constitutions, adopted the amendment abolishing slavery, attended to the condition of the freedmen, repudiated the debt contracted by them for war purposes, and in this manner showed their anxiety to resume constitutional relations with the Federal Government. But each concession has been met with a fresh demand, until at the present time, ten States have been turned into military divisions, ten Governors, chosen by the people, superseded by five Brigadier-Generals, and the will of a minority Congress placed over and above the power and authority of the constitution. \* \* \* In order to carry out this scheme, which was concected by the rev-

pared for the sake of expediency-that fatal fallacy which has lured us so far on the road to of the State trust those who could or who destruction-that Trojan Horse which has brought with it an Iliad of woes--to barter away the few rights remaining to us? Yet sented in the halls of Congress until her delethis is the course we must follow, if we accopt terms which we know to be contrary to a sovereign State, with all her "dignity, equal-the conditions on which we surrendered, ity and rights unimpaired." When that day the conditions on which we surrendered, which are in inical to all true reconciliation, and which are in open and palpable violation of the Constitution of the United States of that constitution which we swear to support, at the very moment we are grossly outraging its most sacred provisions! Would not those who vote for these laws, knowing them to be unconstitutional, be guilty of perjury? What good can come of laws which begin in fraud and can be carried into effect only by perjury? Let me not be understood as making any re flections on those Southern men who honestly and conscientiously advocate our acceptance of these military bills. Any divisions amongst us are to be deprecated, and it is unwise as it is unkind to impungu the motives of men who, on many a field, have proved their devotion to the South. Especially do I regret the violent attacks which have been made on that gallant soldier who so long and so ably led the illustrious First Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia. It has been his hard fate, in peace as in war, to be wounded by his own people. That charity which "hopeth all things" and a natural distrust of our ov judgment, should make us treat the convictions of such men with at least kindly and proper consideration. But for those "who see the right and yet the wrong pursue,' who, while their country seems to be strugding in the threes of death, consult only their own base fears and low instincts-who, to save their vile property or still more vile persons, would degrade their State-who bid us accept dishpnor as the price of safety-language has no terms strong enough to brand their infamy. They are as far beyond the reach of adequate punishment in this world as they are beneath

the scorn and contempt of all honorable men. But to return to the consideration of the Reconstruction acts, from which this digression las led me. What inducements do the advocates of these measures hold out to us to accept them? Can they promise us peace? Look at Tennessee, and learn what kind of peads we are to have. Can they promise us an scriptable State constitution-one that will not be interferred with by Congress?— Look at Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky -three "loyal" sovereign States-which are to be put on trial before a Star Chamber committee, on the charge of not having republican constitution. Can they promise a restoration of the Union? The Radical rulers expressly declare that their measures are not "finalites." Can they promise, even that doubtful good, representation in the Congress of the United States? I refer you to Kentucky, whose representatives are ignominiously rejected, because rebels voted for them! -But suppose that the State accepts the terms proposed by the military bills; that she agrees least been discussed in a temperate and disto the permanent and total exclusion from her councils of the intellect, the experience, the wisdom and the patriotism which, in times sideration, and I shall tax your pationee no past, gave her lustre; that, instead of these noble qualities and virtues, she commits her political destinies to the guidance of ignorance, inexperience, folly and radicalism; that she adopts a constitution disfranchising forever the men who, in obeying her command to defend her, believed that they were serving

Buys-ignominious purchase-short repose, With dying curses and the groans of those That served and loved, and put in their trust."

God; that she

Suppose she does all these things, and that the Radicals then graciously permit her to send her representatives to Washington, from what class will she select the men who are to fill the places once honored by Lowndes, Calhour, McDuffie, Preston, Cheves, Hayne, Huger and their glorious compeers? The same body which has shown such wisdom and magnamity in framing these Reconstruction acts that are to bring so many blessings in their train, gives you the answer in the following uct of Congress?

"I. Hereafter any person elected or ap pointed to any office of power or profit under the Government of the United States, either in the civil, military or naval departments of the United States, shall, before entering upon the duties of such office, and being entitled to any of the salary or other emoluments thereof, take and subscribe the following oath 'I do solemnly swear, that I have never voluntarfly borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought nor accepted, nor attempted to exercise, the functions of any office whatever, under any authority in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto. And I do further swear, that to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enterso help me God l' And any person who shall falsely take the said outh shall be guilty of

would take it? For the honor of our State, I should prefer that she should not be repregates can enter them as free men, representing comes, there may be a restoration of the Union in fact, as well as in theory; when they cannot forgot it, may meet as equals on some common ground, where the honor, the rights and the feelings of both can be recognized and respected. But until that day does come, in the words of Patrick Henry, "Gentlemen may ery peace! peace! but there is no peace!"

It is searcely necessary for me to say that, entertaining the views I have expressed, I think it far preferable the State should remain in its present condition, under military rule, than that it should give its sanction to measures which we believe to be illegal, unconstitutional and ruinous. It is my honest and firm belief, that the voluntary acceptance of these measures by our people would surely bring, not only to the South, but to the whole country, evils far greater than any we have yet suffered. The North, flushed with success, and drunk with power, may not be able to realize this fact; but as surely as the South falls a victim to irresponsible and unlicensed power, so surely will the North lose its liberties. Ruin to the South will react on the North, and if we are crushed into the dust, the Northern people will see but the foreshadowing of their own certain doom. Recognize, as an established principle, the right of any political party that may be in the ascendancy to fix upon all who differ with them laws un-authorized by the Constitution of the United States, and we shall begin that downward career which will lead us steadily through confusion, anarchy and blood, to the certain overthrow of republican institutions and free government. Believing this, I regard it the duty of every man, in the exercise of the right accorded to all by these military bills, to oppose their adoption by all lawful means. As the people have the privilege, then, of expressing either assent or dissent on this question, advise them, earnestly, to record the latter as fully and solemnly as possible. Let every man register and cast his vote against the Convention, since the question will be made

on that issue. These, gentlemen, are the conclusions to which I have been brought by the most anxious consideration of those "important matters soon to be submitted to the people of the State." They have been laid before you at greater length than I intended, but it seemed to me best to let you have my premises, as well as my conclusions, in order that you might judge of the correctness of both. I can only declare that I have discussed this momentous question with the single desire to arrive at the truth, and I hope that it has at passionate spirit. Let me bring one other sideration, and I shall tax your patience no farther.

You say, truly, that I, as well as yourselves, "have hoped and striven for entire harmony of action among our people." It has been my most carnest desire to secure this harmony, as it has been my constant effort to allay excitement, and to counsel chedience to the laws. This has been the prevailing sentiment among our people, and if it fails of its object, it will not be our fault.

As it is of the last consequence to maintain he same amicable relations which have heretofore existed between the whites and the blacks, I cannot too strongly reiterate my counsel, that all classes should cultivate harmony and exercise forbearance. Let our people remember that the negroes have, as a general rule, behaved admirably, and that they are in no manner responsible for the present condition of affairs. Should they, in the future, be misled by wicked or designing men, let us con 'der how ignorant they necessarily are, and ous, only the more, try to convince them that we are their best friends. Dea with them with perfect justice, and thus show that you vish to promote their advancement and enlightenment. Do this, and the ne roes will not only learn to trust you, but they will soon appreciate the fact so evident to us, that we can do without them far better than they

can do without us. On a late public occasion, where many of you were present, I expressed my perfect willingness to see impartial suffrage established at the South, and I believe that this opinion is entertained, not only by a large majority of the intelligent and reflecting whites, but also of the same class among the blacks. I deprecate universal suffrage, not only on general principles, but especially in the case before us, because I deny the right of Congress to prescribe the rules of citizenship in the States. The Supreme Court bas decided that a negro is not a citizen of the United States, and Congress cannot reverse that decision by an act. The States, however, are competent to confer citizenship on the negro, and I think it is the part of wisdom that such action should be taken by the Southern States. We have recognized the freedom of the blacks, and have praced this fact beyond all probability of doubt, denial or recall. Let us recognize in the same frank manner, and as fully, their political rights also. For myself, I confess that I

main unrepresented longer? Can the people State, and an eminent desire to show my recet to my fellow-citizens, from whom I have received so many marks of kindness and confidence, are the only motives which could have induced me to take any part in public affairs. If the crude views thrown out for your consideration, are instrumental in arousing any one to a sense of the dangers surrounding us, or if they can be of the slightest benefit to those who have called for them, they will North and South, forgiving the past, even if have accomplished their ends. Thanking you again for the honor you have done me in asking counsel of me, and raying that our efforts to save our beloved State from ruin may be successful, I am, with great respect and esteem, your friend and fellow-citizen.

WADE HAMPTON. To Messra. D. W. Ray, W. H. Talley, J. P. Thomas, E. M. Law, and others. COLUMBIA, August 7, 1867.

## By the President of the United States. A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, by the Constitution of the United States, the Executive power is vested in a President of the United States of America. who is bound by solemn oath faithfully to exof his ability, to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and is, by the same instrument, made Communiter-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and is required to take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and whereas, by the same Constitution, it is provided that the said Constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby; and whereas, in and by the same Constitution, the judicial powers of the United States is invested in one Supreme Court, and in such other courts as Cougress may, from time to time, ordain and establish; and the aforesaid judicial power is declared to extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and the treaties which shall be made under their authority; and whereas officers, civil and military, are bound by oath that they will support and sustain the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and whereas all officers of the array and navy of the United States, in accepting their commissions under the fliws of Courses and the rules and articles of war, incur an obligation to observe, obey and follow such directions as they shall, from time to time, recoive from the President, or General, or other superior officers serving them, according to the rules and discipline of war; and whereas it is provided by law that, whenever, by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages of persons, or rebellion against the sutherity of the Government of the United States, it shall become impracticable, in the judgment of the President of the United States to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial proceeding, the laws of the United States within any State or Territory, the Excoutive, in that case, is authorized and required to secure their faithful execution by the assistance of the land and naval forces; and whereas impediments and obstructions, serious in their character, have recently been interposed in the States of North Carolina and South Carolina, hindering the performing, for a time, a proper enforcement there of the lans of the United States, and of the judgments and decrees of a lawful court thereof. in disregard of the command of the President of the United States; and whereas reasonable and well-founded apprehensions exist that such ill-advised and unlawful proceedings

may be again attempted there or elsewhere: Now, therefore, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby warn all persons against obstructing or hindering in any way whatever the faithful execution of the Constitution and the laws; and I do solemaly enjoin the commanding officers of the Government, civil and military, to render due submission and obedience to said laws and to the judgments and decrees of the courts of the United States, and to give all the aid in their power necessary to the prompt of forcement and execution of such laws, decrees, judgments and processes; and I do hereby enjoin upon the officers of the army and navy to assist and sustain the courts and other civil authorities of the United States in a faithful administration of the laws thereof, and in the judgments, decrees, mandates and processes of the courts of the United States, and call upon all good and well-disposed citizens of the United States to remember that upon the said Constitution and laws, and upon the judgments, decrees and processes of the courts, made in accordance with the same, depend the perpetuation of the lives, liberty, presperity and happiness of the people. And I extheir country, their pride in its prosperity and greatness, and their determination to uphold its free institutions by a hearty co-operation in the efforts of the Government to sustain the authority of the law, to maintain the supremacy of the Federal Constitution, and to reserve unimpaired the integrity of the National Union.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and sign the same with my hand .--Done at the city of Washington, the third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty seven.